Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 25 | 267 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1954 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

WHAT M'CARTHY HEARING HAS REVEALED

(See Page 2)

Move to Cut M'Carthy Power Blocked by GOP, Democrats

Reveal A-Bombs Were on Way To Indo-China

By Carl Goodman

American transports loaded with atom bombs were on their way to Indo-China last April. A decision had been made to drop the bombs on the Indo-Chinese fighters for national independence "even at the risk of bringing Communist China in, and starting a general war." This was the sensational charge made in the French Assembly on June 10 by Pierre Mendes-France leader of the opposition in the Assembly to the fallen Laniel regime.

"United States intervention was to have taken place on the request of France April 28," said Mendes-France. "The warships carrying atomic aviation matériel were loaded and en route. President Eisenhower was to have asked Congress April 26 for authorization.

"Luckily, the project of the United States intervention was set aside by Britain and public opinion in the United States."

This testimony by one of France's leading capitalist politicians — a member of the Laniel cabinet — has not been denied either by spokesmen for the French government or the Eisenhower administration. It confirms previous accounts published on two occasions in the American press that U.S. intervention was set for the end of April.

SMATHERS' REVELATION

As Senator Smathers of Florida, stated recently, "when the final story is written it will be seen that America actually took the leap (of intervention in the Indo-China war) but stopped in mid-air."

The statement of Mendes-France, is important not only because it is the most authoritative report on the Eisenhower administration's actual moves to intervene with American troops in the Indo-China war, but because it credits the anti-war sentiment of the American people for the defeat of these plans.

WAR PARTIES

It must be kept in mind that the anti-war sentiment of the American people is unorganized. Both the Democratic and Republican parties — Wall Street's agencies — are war parties. Both of them side with the French colonialists in their bloody endeavor to retain Indo-China within the French empire despite the clearly manifested will of the Indo-Chinese people to be independent and free.

It must be further kept in mind that there is not a single representative of the working people in Congress today who could speak out against Wall Street's war plans.

Yet, the sentiment of the American people is so overwhelmingly against war that it forced the members of this Congress — Republican and Democratic alike to veto the Eisenhower-Dulles proposal for American intervention. The Congressmen were afraid to arouse the anger of the American people during an election year.

MAY STILL INTERVENE

However, the Eisenhower administration is going to continue to maneuver against the colonial revolution to try to stop it by force and hasn't ruled out military action with American troops in Indo-China even to this day.

If it can't intervene in Indo-China in time to save the day for imperialism in that country, it wants to lay the ground-work for military measures against future colonial revolutions.

In the meantime it is trying to whip up sentiment in the United States for possible intervention in Guatemala, where the people are moving to tear their own country out of the control of the United Fruit Company.

That is why it is necessary for the American people to voice its anti-war sentiment in an organized way and with clear demands:

Hands off the colonial revolution! Let the people of other lands determine their own fate! Take the war-making powers out of the hands of the Republicans and Democrats! Let the American people vote on any proposal to plunge this country into war!

Victimized

CARL SKOGLUND

Skoglund Handed Adverse Ruling in Deportation Case

NEW YORK, June 15 — An examiner's decision has been issued denying the application of Carl Skoglund for discretionary relief from deportation to Sweden under the notorious McCarran Act. Although the 70-year old Minnesota labor leader has no political affiliation whatever, the examiner ruled that his admitted socialist views disqualify him from any consideration by the Attorney General, who has discretionary power to suspend the deportation proceedings.

Skoglund's counsel, Stanley Lowell of the American Civil Liberties Union's Alien Civil Rights Committee, immediately announced that the decision will be appealed. A vigorous effort will also be made to secure Skoglund's release on bond from Ellis Island where he has been detained since he was ordered there on May 20.

The government claims that Skoglund should be deported under the McCarran Act because he was a member of the Communist Party during the 1920's, even though he was expelled from that party in 1928, and has been an outspoken opponent of Stalinism since that time. But Skoglund's real "crime," in the eyes of the government witch hunters, is his unblemished record of militant labor and socialist activity since he came to this country 43 years ago.

In recent years Skoglund has been suffering from a severe cardiac condition. His illness and his advanced age, were cited as reasons for the granting of discretionary relief.

The long fight to prevent Skoglund's deportation under a law that has been condemned by all sections of the labor and liberal movements, is being handled by the Civil Rights Defense Committee, a non-partisan organization.

FUNDS NEEDED

Funds are urgently needed for the appeal of the examiner's decision and for the attempt to secure Skoglund's release on bond from Ellis Island. Defenders of civil liberties and opponents of political persecution should send contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Radioactive Snow

Japanese mountain climbers were warned recently not to quench their thirst with snow Chemists at Kanazawa University said tests showed snow on top of peaks in the area called Japan's Alps was radioactive. I was presumed that recent hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific some 3,000 miles away were the cause.

"Treason" Smear Hurled Once Again

"Five instances of treason" in Korea was charged by McCarthy against Truman's Democratic administration at the Army-McCarthy hearings June 15. McCarthy has been stepping up his cry of "treason" throughout the last phase of the hearings. He hurled the charge of Trumanite treason in Korea in the most provocative and demagogic manner. He repeated over and over again that "treason" was responsible for the American defeat in Korea and for the thousands of American casualties.

McCarthy's charge of "treason in high places" gives him the whip hand over the other Republican and Democratic witch hunters. And yet they never take him up on this slanderous fascist charge. Why not?

It is not only the Democrats who are charged with "20 years of treason." Recently, during the hearings, McCarthy spoke of "21 years of treason," including in this way the first year of the Eisenhower administration.

But Eisenhower was already implicated when McCarthy first hurled the charge in the Senate June 15, 1951. According to McCarthy's Senate speech, war-time chief of staff George C. Marshall was the evil genuis of the "world-wide Communist conspiracy" — a man "whose every important act for years has contributed to the prosperity of the enemy."

And Eisenhower was named as Marshall's chief collaborator.

Neither the Republicans or Democrats can give a coherent answer to the McCarthyite treason charge. The reason is they are tangled up in the same Big Lie as McCarthy.

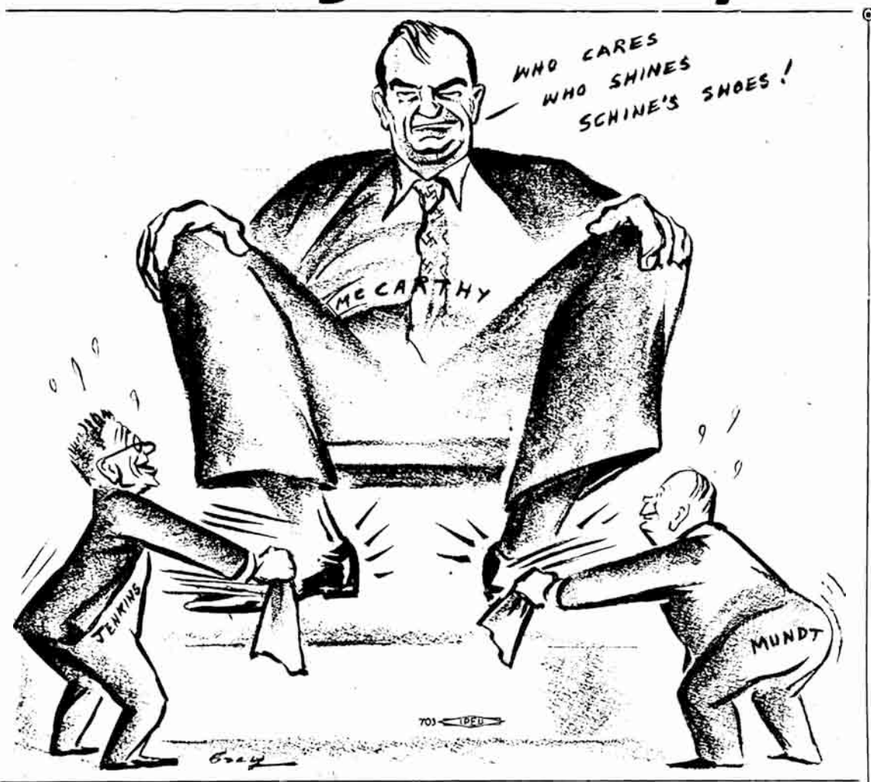
Both the McCarthyites and the anti-McCarthyite Republicans and Democrats peddle the lie that the working class and the colonial peoples of the world are pawns of a Kremlin conspiracy.

When millions of Chinese workers and peasants throw out their landlords and capitalists and remove the tyrant Chiang Kai-shek — the Republican and Democratic liars, including the McCarthyites and the liberals, depict this progressive social upheaval as a diabolically clever maneuver of the Kremlin.

Truman and Eisenhower peddle this lie as a justification for their drive toward a war which aims to put down the anti-capitalist social revolution and re-establish the rule of capitalism throughout the world.

With the Big Lie of "Communist Aggression," the Democrats and Republicans hoped to

(Continued on page 2)



NAACP Appeal Wins Delay in Legal Lynching

A Jim Crow legal lynching was postponed on June 7 when the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the case of Jeremiah Reeves Jr., a 17 year old youth from Montgomery, Ala., who was found guilty of "rape" by an all-white jury and sentenced to die in the electric chair. Reeves' appeal was filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, headed by attorney Thurgood Marshall.

Here are the main facts in the Reeves case:

Reeves was arrested on Nov. 10, 1952 for the alleged rape of a white woman some four months before.

He was taken to the state penitentiary and held there for three days without being allowed to see his relatives or a lawyer.

He was subjected to constant questioning in a room with an electric chair and told that unless he confessed to the crime, he would be electrocuted.

Then he was taken to the Montgomery county jail, where the woman "identified" him. Two days later he was indicted despite his plea of not guilty.

At the trial which began on Nov. 26 the judge cleared the court with the exception of witnesses and court officials. He denied a motion for a public trial by Reeves' attorney.

The judge also denied a motion attacking the method of selecting the jury. Although 43.6% of Montgomery County's population is Negro, there are often no Negroes selected for juries and never more than one or two.

The prosecution introduced testimony about a "confession" allegedly made by Reeves, but he was denied the opportunity to prove to the jury that the "confession" was coerced by third-degree methods in the electric chair room.

Near the end of the trial it was learned that a member of the jury was the chief of the Montgomery Reserve Police Force whose express purpose is tracking down "alleged Negro rapists" and who had been active in the case. The judge denied Reeves' request for a mistrial on this ground.

NAACP Legal Defense lawyers will file briefs with the Supreme Court by Aug. 25. It is expected the case will be argued in the fal term of the court.

Kluxer Sets Up New Racist Group

Labor's Daily, June 11, reports the formation of a new racist organization in Atlanta, Georgia, headed by Bill Hendrix, former Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

Hendrix said the new organization, "the White Brotherhood," intends to "educate people" on the subject of segregation. The chief of the lynch-minded organization claims that the White Brotherhood will "try to avoid killing and violence."

The record of recent years shows hundreds of unsolved crimes of secret terrorist violence against the Negro people in the South and throughout the country.

The appearance of this new organization indicates that the Southern bourbons plan new terrorist acts. Meanwhile not a single racist murderer has been brought to justice by the FBI or local police.

Fascist Senator Still Runs Show as Senate Hearings Reach Close

By Murry Weiss

JUNE 16 — Amidst McCarthy's cries of "blood treason" in the Korean war, the Army-McCarthy hearings are being pushed to a swift conclusion. Few in the multi-millioned TV audience honestly believe that the McCarthy Committee will dare wag even an admonishing finger at McCarthy when it draws up the report of its findings. What then will be the upshot of the two-months' dramatic struggle between the Eisenhower Administration and the McCarthyite fascists?

Great hopes were aroused by the motion of Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R.Vt.) to strip McCarthy of two Senate Committee chairmanships. But the Flanders' motion was flattened by both the Republican and Democratic steamrollers in the Senate. It was referred to the McCarthyite-controlled Rules committee which is chaired by the fascist Sen. William E. Jenner (R.Ind.). McCarthy was recently made a member of this powerful committee by the vote of the Republicans and Democrats themselves.

Only mass action, such as a March on Washington by the anti-McCarthy forces or a 24-hour nationwide stoppage by labor, could bring speedy positive action on the Flanders' motion.

With the labor officials willing captives of the capitalist party machines such an action would have to be initiated and passed in opposition to the labor bureaucrats.

Thus, insofar as the leaders of the Republican and Democratic anti-McCarthyites are concerned there is no prospect of any serious action being taken against McCarthy as a result of the hearings.

The swift shelving of the Flanders' motion is the last of a series of fiascos in Senate "plans" to "stop" McCarthy. At the beginning of this session of Congress numerous plans were advertised by both Republicans and Democrats to "curb," "contain," or even "destroy" the power of the Wisconsin fascist leader. All the "stop McCarthy" plans wound up in the disgraceful 85 to 1 vote on Feb. 2 for the $214,000 McCarthy demanded to carry on his 1954 witch hunting.

"MADE A MISTAKE"

Flanders confessed in a TV interview June 13 that he "made a mistake" in voting for McCarthy's funds.

But on June 15, Flanders showed how much he had really learned from his Feb. 2 mistake: together with the whole Senate he voted to refer the Flanders' motion to the Rules Committee where it can be tied up for at least a month by the McCarthyites.

Jenner, the head of the Rules Committee, is a dyed-in-the-wool McCarthyite fascist who comes close to rivaling McCarthy himself in witch hunting and fascist demagogy.

Early in February, when McCarthy went on his "20 years of treason" tour for the Republican National Committee, Jenner did some campaign speaking of his own. He spoke on the "Fair dealers and their Communist brain trust" who deliberately sent "our brave fighting men" into a death trap in Korea "to fight in a country they (Truman's administration) had stripped bare of American troops by then. They put every possible handicap on our armed forces. Our brave fighting men didn't know they were supposed to be defeated. They went ahead and won the war with one hand tied behind their backs."

This is the man to whom the motion to strip McCarthy of his Senate power has been entrusted for action — a McCarthyite demagogue who utilizes the legitimate anger of the American people against the Trumanite intervention in Korea in order to mobilize a fascist movement.

Why did the Administration

(Continued on page 3)

Ford Local 600 Continues Support For Legless Vet

DETROIT — The country's largest union local has adopted a strong resolution of continued support for the legless war veteran James Kutcher, outstanding victim of the witch hunt and leading fighter for civil liberties.

Ford Local 600 has renewed its backing of Kutcher's fight on the occasion of his visit to Detroit as part of a national speaking tour in behalf of his own case as an outstanding example of the witch hunting that paved the way for fascist McCarthyism.

The resolution recalls that Kutcher, who lost both legs in the Italian campaign, has been fighting for five years for reinstatement to his clerk's job in the Newark Veteran's Administration office. It states that he was fired on the basis of Truman's presidential order "denying federal employment to anyone belonging to an organization arbitrarily listed as 'subversive.'"

'WITHOUT HEARINGS"

Kutcher openly admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which had been put on the Department of Justice's political blacklist "without hearings, without any specification of charges or submission of evidence."

The resolution notes that the Attorney General of Michigan has been forced to withdraw his charge that the SWP is "subversive" and that he has acknowledged the SWP "is a bone fide legal party with a position on the ballot, running candidates for public office, etc."

The resolution also urges union members "to obtain and read Kutcher's recently published book, 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'"

"I Never Really Gauged Your Cruelty"

By L. P. Wheeler

For a brief moment at the Army-McCarthy hearings June 9 the outraged conscience of the American people found a voice in Army Counsel Joseph Welch. Welch was fencing with Roy Cohn. Using a mixture of wit and legal logic, Welch was picking to pieces the McCarthy case on Pvt. G. David Schine. Suddenly a third party, Sen. Joseph McCarthy, stepped into the tense but restrained little drama and broke it up with an axe.

Welch was taunting Cohn: It's really dramatic to see how these Communist hunters will sit on this document (Fort Monmouth 'spy information') when they could have brought it to the attention of Bob Stevens in 20 minutes and they let month after month go by without going to the head and saying, 'Sic 'em, Stevens.'"

McCarthy's voice cut in: "In view of Mr. Welch's request that the information — what we know of anyone who might be performing any work for the Communist Party, I think we should tell him that he has in his law firm a young man named Fisher . . . who has been for a number of years a member of an organization which was named — oh, years and years ago — as the legal bulwark of the Communist Party."

A sickened hush pervaded the hearing room as McCarthy weaved his insinuations and smears around the young lawyer in Welch's Boston firm.

"LITTLE DID I DREAM"

Then Welch answered: ". . . Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. . . . Little did I dream that you could be so reckless and so cruel as to do an injury to that lad. . . . I fear he shall always bear a scar, needlessly inflicted by you. . . . **Have you no sense of decency, sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?"**

There is no doubt of the dignity or sincerity of Welch's cry of outrage. And certainly the burst of applause that swept the Senate caucus room after Welch spoke was representative of the reaction of millions throughout the country.

But why was Welch outraged? What's so special about the Fisher smear except that Fisher still holds his job? **Welch had just been using the witch-hunt frame-up against the McCarthy victims at Fort Monmouth to score a point in his cross-examination of Cohn when McCarthy intervened to show him how the witch hunt is really played.**

FT. MONMOUTH VICTIMS

Aren't the young men at Fort Monmouth who were "scarred" by McCarthy deserving of a little of Mr. Welch's "New England conscience?" Every fair-minded person knows that nothing, absolutely nothing, has been proved against the scientists at Fort Monmouth who were smeared and suspended by McCarthy's "cruel and reckless" methods.

And why did Welch say that Fisher would always "bear a scar" as a result of McCarthy's filthy attack?

Fisher will bear a scar because Attorney General Brownell "assassinated" the National Lawyers Guild to which Fisher once belonged. Brownell, egged on by McCarthy and following the tactic of trying to out-witch-hunt McCarthy, smeared the National Lawyers Guild and thereby thousands of Fisher's were laid open to "scarring" — and worse.

The National Lawyers Guild is now fighting Brownell's "subversive" listing in the courts. They have recently won an important legal victory, but the big fight is ahead of them. **Will Welch come to their aid, or does his New England conscience permit him to aid only such powers as the U.S. Army?**

"CLOSE TO TEARS"

Joseph Welch and all the anti-McCarthy Republicans and Democrats have imprisoned their consciences in McCarthy's witch-hunt formula. They can only express outrage and indignation when the sting is personal. What was notable about Welch's cry of pain was that it became the voice for millions, a voice against all the witch hunters — including Welch himself.

After the session, Welch told reporters: "I'm close to tears. . . I don't see how in the name of God you can fight anybody like that. I never saw such cruelty . . . such arrogance."

That was the truth. Welch and his kind can never lead a fight against the McCarthyites. The best of them cannot do more than utter a pitiful cry of fear and anguish over one trifling episode out of a vast system of crimes.

Men of tougher fibre, with fighting guts, will have to take on the McCarthy's and whip them in the old-fashioned American rough-and-tumble style of fighting. But such leaders will come from a different class than Welch represents. Because it is the working class and not the capitalist class that can stand up to McCarthy and beat him in any kind of fight.

An Appeal To the Martians

By Dorothy Johnson

Linda Sue Russell, a nine-year-old girl in Albuquerque, New Mexico is receiving a flood of mail from all parts of the country. It is in response to the following letter she wrote to the inhabitants of the planet Mars:

"What business I am writing about is to stop the Earth people from fighting. All they have is war, war, war, and I'm getting tired of it, so be here."

One of the letters Linda Sue received is from a boy in Mobile, Ala., who wrote, "I am the Martian you wrote to and I would like to stop war in the Earth, too. I'm afraid I can't come to your city but I can write to you."

The majority of the American people, like Linda Sue are "getting tired of it" and like the boy in Mobile, Ala., "would like to stop war in the earth, too." The stream of letters Linda Sue received is another indication, like the spontaneous outpouring of letters to Senators and Representatives opposing U.S. intervention in Indo-China, of the overwhelming hostility American workers feel to any more Koreas.

Why Linda Sue has no confidence in the capacity of the inhabitants of the planet Earth to stop war is not explained in her letter. Perhaps it's her reaction to the programs she sees on TV. Maybe, too, that's where she got the idea that Martians might be able to do something.

Whatever the cause, it is clear she already feels it takes a different type from the beings you see on TV and maybe on the streets of Albuquerque today to do the job of bringing peace to earth. The remarkable fact is that even if they are not yet visible she does feel that somewhere there are beings intelligent enough to stop war. And if she were questioned about it closely, perhaps she would agree you don't have to go all the way to Mars to find them.

The fact is Linda Sue's fantasy expresses something real. Those Martians will surely turn up in time and among them will be Americans, including the ordinary citizens of Albuquerque.

Let's hope that Linda Sue's plea is heard by more powerful forces than the Martian in Mobile, Ala. Labor organized in its own political party could make her business-like call for action a reality. It could oust the war-makers, put a Workers and Farmers government in power and begin to create the sort of society where nine-year-old thinkers like Linda Sue Russell need not turn to the "Martians" for help in making the Earth a secure and a peaceful planet.

A FASCIST'S FORMULA FOR SMASHING UNIONS

McCarthy's first act after arriving in Washington at the end of 1946 is reported by Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May, in their book, McCarthy, The Man, the Senator, the "Ism," on page 123:

On his second day in Washington, before he had been sworn in, Joe (McCarthy) called a press conference. He felt that capital newsmen would be happy to learn the views of a two-fisted Midwesterner on a subject as important as the (miners) strike. The reporters were so amazed at his audacity that they showed up mainly out of curiosity. One of the first questions was: "Mr. McCarthy, what makes you think a new Senator is important enough to call a press conference?" Joe shrugged the question off, but it was obvious that Washington reporters would not be as soft a touch as the press in Wisconsin's north country.

"Now then," Joe announced, after a silence in which it appeared that the newsmen's curiosity was turning to boredom, "let's get down to business. About this coal strike, I've got a solution. The Army should draft the striking coal miners. That would solve the problem."

The reporters didn't know whether to be amused or amazed. "What about John L. Lewis?" one of them asked.

"Draft him too," said Joe. He explained that once the miners and their 'dictatorial' leader were in the Army, they would be forced to mine coal.

"And what if they refused?"

"Then they could be court-martialed for insubordination and you know what that means."

The newsmen could hardly believe their ears. One of them, searching for a headline, asked: "You mean you would line up men like John L. Lewis and have them shot?"

Joe shrugged his shoulders as if to say, "What else?" And one by one the reporters backed out of the conference, convinced that here was a young man who would provide many a headline for the yellow segments of the press. But several days later the New York Times gave publicity to McCarthy's direct approach to the coal strike by quoting him:

". . . I believe the President should use his powers to immediately draft John L. Lewis into the armed services. Lewis should be directed to order his miners to mine coal. If he does not do that, he should be court-martialed. We should go straight down the line. If subordinates of Lewis fail to order the miners back, they should be court-martialed. All this talk about you can't put 400,000 miners in jail is a lot of stuff. They won't go to jail. They will mine coal first."

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What Senate's McCarthy-Army Hearings Are Really All About

By Art Preis

Why have the eyes and ears of millions been glued day after day to one TV program—the McCarthy-Army hearings before the Senate Investigations subcommittee? These hearings, begun April 22, had held 34 days of actual sessions by June 15.

Both Senator McCarthy and his opponents of the Eisenhower administration have talked of the hearings as a "waste" and the former even referred to them as "boring." Leading Democrats and Republicans alike have called the hearings a "disgrace." Yet, there has been no clamor from the public to discontinue the hearings or the broadcasts. On the contrary, the TV and radio audiences have been following them with undiminished avidity.

WHAT HOLDS THEM?

Is it simply because these hearings have provided a good show, like some popular continuous soap opera? TV and radio program experts know the public usually gets bored with the same song and dance every day. Yet, the people are lapping up the McCarthy-Army hearings although the proceedings, the questions, the answers seem to repeat themselves endlessly.

Something more than a mere desire for entertainment must be holding the concentrated attention of the many millions following the hearings. Is it their feeling that decisive issues underlie these hearings—issues that may profoundly change the political face of this country?

THE "REAL" ISSUE

The capitalist newspapers, both Democratic and Republican, for the most part would have us believe that nothing more is involved than the originally stated issues. Most of them, at some time during the hearings, have complained editorially about "diversions" introduced by McCarthy. They demand that the hearings stick to the "original" and "real" issues:

Did McCarthy and his chief counsel Roy Cohn use "undue influence and pressure" in an attempt to get the Army to give "preferential" treatment to Pvt. G. David Schine, McCarthy's former volunteer aide and bosom pal of Cohn? Or did Secretary of the Army Stevens and the Pentagon threaten to hold Schine as a "hostage" to force McCarthy to call off his search for "communists" in Army establishments like Ft. Monmouth?

Thus, Republican Senator Potter of Michigan, on June 11—the thirtieth day of the hearings!—felt it essential to use a good part of 10 minutes to explain to 15 million TV and radio listeners that the "real" issues are nothing more than the charges and counter-charges regarding the inconsequential hotel chain-owner's son and Army private Schine.

USE OF INFLUENCE

The American people, however, follow the proceedings through all the points-of-order and hammy spoutings-off of Senators, lawyers and witnesses because they believe that the genuine issue — the issue they feel is behind the unprecedented political show may at last be brought to light. They hope to get at a big, fundamental political truth.

It is hard for the public to believe that this open display of bitter division within the ruling party, this public exchange of charge and counter-charge, of smear and counter-smear is over something so ordinary as a Senator using his influence to get some kind of special privilege for an associate or pal.

Why would Secretary of the Army Stevens balk at fixing up Schine in the first place? Stevens didn't, in fact. He admitted himself he went out of his way to smooth over McCarthy and Cohn. Certainly, there are countless instances when a quiet word from a Senator or Representative has opened doors for individuals in the Army or other sections of the armed forces. The vast majority of appointments to West Point must be recommended by U.S. Representatives or Senators. Most commissioned Army officers get their start through political backing and influence. Why would they be "shocked" by any request for a special favor from McCarthy?

Obviously, this request was seized on as a weapon to use against McCarthy, whom the Stevens-Pentagon group want to "get" for some other and more serious reason.

McCARTHY'S COMPLAINT

And if the issue were so inconsequential as an attempt to win preferential treatment for someone in the Army, why would the Senate itself permit this to become a controversy of such magnitude? The Senate, surely, could have bottled it up. There are hearings going on right now involving vast corruption, the stealing of hundreds of millions, like the FHA scandal, which get only an occasional reference in the press and no TV coverage.

McCarthy, of course, agrees that the matter of preferential treatment for Schine is not the issue. But he counters with something equally ridiculous. He contends that the Army is holding Schine as a "hostage" to stop McCarthy's investigation of "communists" in the Army. In what way Schine can be held as a "hostage" is not made clear.

How could making Schine go through the rigors of basic Army training, like millions of other American youth, have induced McCarthy to call off his probe? Was McCarthy afraid that the Army would pull Schine's fingernails out with hot pliers or something? The Senator's charge borders on fantasy.

THE POLITICAL ISSUE

But McCarthy adds another point—that Soviet secret agents, in furtherance of a scheme for the Russians to take over America, have infiltrated all the branches of government, including the Army. The Democrats for 20 years of their rule, and now the Eisenhower Republicans for the year and a half of their rule, says McCarthy, are guilty of "treason" in preventing the exposure of these Russian agents.

McCarthy's "evidence" of this—and the controversy out of which the current hearings grew—is the case of Major Peress, an Army dentist, whom McCarthy called a "Fifth Amendment Communist." Of course, McCarthy never even tried to prove that Peress was a Moscow spy. He just left the implication. Maybe, Peress was looking for microfilms of the latest secret weapons hidden under loose fillings in four-star generals' teeth.

McCarthy's charge is just as weird and fantastic as the Army's claim about its moral concern over the Schine issue.

But McCarthy has come closer to the heart of the controversy than his opponents in the hearings. He has raised a **political** issue—even if it is the false issue of "communism" as the threat to the American people.

FASCISM THE ISSUE

In the course of these hearings, however, we have been given some clues as to the real political issue.

It was admitted by McCarthy that he has a private organization of spies inside all key government agencies, including the FBI and armed forces. McCarthy's praise of General Lawton indicates how high the senator's influence extends inside the Army.

McCarthy has successfully defied Eisenhower and the Pentagon in keeping the identity of his agents hidden. He has called on everyone with secret and confidential information inside the government and armed forces to bring it to him.

McCarthy virtually ran the proceedings and dictated the ground-rules of the hearings. He has treated with utmost rudeness and brutality anyone who has tried to cross him. His conduct before the TV cameras is calculated to appeal to those growing fascist forces now raising their heads both in the public political arena and inside the government.

In short, the issue is McCarthy's infiltration of the Army, FBI and other organs of power in his drive to become America's fascist dictator. That is the issue expressed only in the most distorted fashion through these hearings and the Schine affair. That is the underlying issue that has made these hearings so prolonged and bitter and has kept the American people glued to their TV and radio sets for so long.

The hidden issue—the real issue—is: Will McCarthy succeed in cowing the Republican-Democratic opposition to his fascist drive and is that opposition capable of stopping fascism?

Smiling Opponents

Sen. Stuart Symington (D., Mo.), left, Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R., Wis.), standing, and Sen. Henry Jackson (D., Wash.), right, all "smile for the birdie" during a breather in the Senate Investigations subcommittee's hearings on the McCarthy-Army dispute.

. . . "Treason" Smear Hurled Again

(Continued from page 1)

line up the American people to support such a war.

The Truman loyalty program, the Taft-Hartley law, the witch hunt within the unions inspired by the State Department were all based on the fairy tale about "Communist aggression."

Then along came McCarthy. He asked: Why are we losing the war to the "Communist conspirators" at the "rate of 100 million people a year?" Why have we fallen "from our position as the most powerful nation on earth at the end of World War II to a position of declared weakness?"

There are only three possible answers.

McCarthy offers a choice of two: "Let the people decide whether we've lost because of (1) stumbling, fumbling idiocy or because (2) they (the Democrats and the Army Chiefs) planned it that way."

Once the Big Lie about a "world-wide Communist conspiracy" is accepted, McCarthy's answer to why America "fell from power" has a certain plausibility — particularly in the minds of disturbed and disoriented sections of the middle class. And the fact is that the Republicans and Democrats have been unable to answer McCarthy. They are committed to the Big Lie as much as he is, but they do not know how to cope with the logical conclusion the fascists draw from it.

When the Democrats reply to McCarthy's treason charge with the claim that they are being framed, McCarthy replies: If that is so, what is your answer? Why have we been losing the war with the "Communist menace?" Why has the Kremlin succeeded in "enslaving" 800 million people since World War II?

The Democrats and Republicans could answer this question by claiming that the Kremlin bureaucrats are "supermen," or rather "superdevils." They could claim that the "free world" is up against a "superior" and infinitely evil power.

Or they could tell the truth. They could give the third answer—the answer of the Socialist Workers Party. They could show how American capitalism has been defeated not by an evil conspiracy but by a great social revolutionary movement of hundreds of millions of workers and peasants that represents a great progressive movement in history.

But in order to give this truthful answer the Republicans and Democrats would have to abandon the Big Lie. And that's something they will not and cannot do.

PERPLEXING RIDDLE

Thus they are in a quandary. Surely if you leave the invincible revolutionary movement of the working masses out of the reckoning, and reduce recent world history to a duel of wits between Moscow and Washington, a perplexing riddle is left unanswered; if area after area of the world turns against American imperialism as a result of clever "conspiratorial" scheming by the Kremlin, then indeed, the men in power in the U.S. are either dupes or traitors as McCarthy claims.

But if America's "loss of power" is understood as the result of the birth of a new socialist world and the death agony of the old capitalist world, then the Big Lie about a "Communist conspiracy" is destroyed.

Here lies the dilemma of the anti-McCarthy Republicans and Democrats. Either they must renounce the Big Lie, the central propaganda prop of their foreign and domestic policy, or they are defenseless against McCarthy's charge of treason in high places.

The European experience showed that the "anti-fascist" capitalist politicians remained trapped in this dilemma until the problem was solved for them by the fascists who dispatched them to a place where political problems could no longer trouble them.

The working class cannot afford to become trapped in the Big Lie. Nor can the working class remain helpless before the fascist use of that lie. The charge of treason is not merely a quarrel among capitalists as to who is responsible for the defeats of America on the world arena.

The truth is that the McCarthyite treason charge is the most ominous threat to the very life of the labor movement.

WHAT HE MEANS

When McCarthy says "21 years of treason" he means: Rally around me. I will remove the traitors and scoundrels in high places. I will burn them out with the fire of McCarthyism. All who have grievances, all who suffer fear and insecurity, all who hate the men in power, all who don't want the blood of American youth shed in war, come to me and I will save you. Join the crusade of McCarthyism.

And if this fascist demagogue is permitted to rally his movement then he will pass over to the next stage of his drive to power. He will become the scourge of the "Communist infiltrated" union movement. Just visualize a full-fledged McCarthy "investigation" of the trade unions on the style of his "investigations" of the Army! And then realize — it has already begun. Remember that McCarthy has announced that his next big target is the defense plants. How far is that from a general attack on the trade unions?

Is there a union in the country whose leaders and members are not connected with the Democratic Party's "20 years of treason"? Or for that matter is there a union in the country whose leadership could pass a McCarthyite "security" check. (Remember Oppenheimer!)

The inability of the Republicans and Democrats to answer the McCarthyite treason lie because they are caught in the web of their own great lie is only an expression of their inability to fight McCarthyism successfully.

For a successful struggle against the McCarthyite fascists, the working class must break with the Big Lie, the Big Liars, Big Business and its political parties. The workers must build their own party, elect their own representatives, win the people to their side and crush the fascist menace.

For Peace or War?

According to the June 13 N. Y. Times, the U.S. Armed Forces now number three and a third million soldiers, sailors, and airmen.

Of these, more than 1,000,000 are stationed outside the continental United States.

Out of this huge force, 120,000 are in the Caribbean area, Alaska, the Aleutians, the Pacific islands, Africa and the Mediterranean.

Some 385,000 are garrisoned in Western Europe and 540,000 occupy Korea and Japan.

Wall Street propagandists claim that these battle-readied legions are proof of the peaceful intentions of American capitalism. But elsewhere hundreds of millions see them as evidence of Wall Street's preparations to plunge the world into another global conflict.

$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	$ 65	$ 80	123
Detroit	500	561	112
San Francisco	700	728	104
Akron	100	100	100
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Chicago	1,500	1,500	100
Cleveland	250	250	100
Los Angeles	2,500	2,500	100
Milwaukee	250	250	100
Minneapolis - St. Paul	1,200	1,200	100
Newark	400	400	100
New York	3,000	3,000	100
Oakland	250	250	100
Philadelphia	400	400	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
St. Louis	75	60	80
Seattle	250	175	70
General	260	134	52
Total through June 16	$14,000	$13,888	99

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Almost $1,300 was received this week from the branches to bring our total in the Party Building Fund Drive up to $13,888, only $112 short of the $14,000 goal. More contributions are expected to come in. All but three branches were able to complete their quotas 100%. Special thanks go to Allentown, Detroit and San Francisco for exceeding their quotas by a total of $104.

As the final deadline neared, Comrade P. Stall of Detroit wrote: "Here is $11 more. We are bound and determined to end up first! This last is from a sympathizer." The $61 received over Detroit's quota was the largest extra contribution made. Congratulations, Detroit.

Jean Blake sent in the balance of Cleveland's quota. She wrote: "We're extremely happy that we made it—particularly for the circumstances that made it possible: a very fine recruit turned in $10 from a very promising new contact of hers."

We can conclude that our $14,000 Fund Drive has been a success. The Socialist Workers Party is grateful for all the contributions from members and from our friends that made this victory possible.

For many branches, hard hit by growing unemployment, this achievement was not an easy one. Only the deep conviction of the importance of assuring the continuous activities of the Socialist Workers Party in this period of reaction and fascist menace, in preparation for the great upsurge of labor that inevitably must follow, inspired such sacrifices.

Now we look forward to the all-out effort in the 1954 fall election campaign to combat McCarthyism and the crumbling capitalist edifice that leaves this ugly phenomenon exposed.

In one State after another we shall have candidates who will speak out boldly and clearly for socialism, the only alternative to a future of war and fascism.

The $14,000 Fund will be used to battle the enemies of the working class and the oppressed minorities and to organize for the socialist victory in America.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Reports from literature agents indicate an enthusiastic response to the call for national Anti-Fascist Militant Mobilizations.

The first of these is scheduled for June 20. Extra copies of the June 14 unemployment issue have been ordered by **Detroit, Minneapolis,** and **Pittsburgh.**

San Francisco Literature Agent **Nick Bennet** writes, "We intend to go all out on the Militant mobilizations. It is certainly some time since the Militant has had enough emphasis. Please raise our bundle order for the duration of the campaign."

Literature Agent **Helen Baker** reports that **Seattle** has been selling out their recently increased bundle each week. Most of the sales have been in door-to-door work. Now the comrades are raising their bundle again for the campaign.

Minneapolis Literature Agent **Helen Sherman** writes, "The recent local campaign for subs, which the Minneapolis comrades completed so successfully, only whetted the appetite, so to speak, to go into an **all-out** drive for the Militant in the coming four week National Campaign.

"The Militant is 'big business' in Minnesota, the year around. We have built up our circulation over a period of time to the point where we have a solid and impressive base — still, the field is wide open. There has never been a better time for socialist comrades to go forth and sell the paper.

"The anti-McCarthy pamphlet continues to be a best-seller. **Larry, Donald** and **Helen** sold 17 copies at a recent Stalinist-sponsored meeting. About one out of three who attended the meeting, bought the pamphlet."

Milwaukee Literature Agent **H. Mahler** reports a good sale in Kenosha Saturday afternoon. "We sold 25 anti-McCarthy pamphlets, and a friend sold five Militants. This was the first time she tried selling Militants on the street."

Dick Clarke reports continued sales of the Militant by regular door-to-door work in a **St. Louis** working class neighborhood. He writes, "One reader gives the Militant to friends and discusses it with them. He has sold six anti-McCarthy pamphlets and a copy of America's Road to Socialism. Besides this, he got a friend of his to sell two more copies of the Cannon pamphlet."

Oakland Literature Agent **Dolores Seville** writes, "In the past week we sold 26 Militants and 16 anti-McCarthy pamphlets. Three anti-McCarthy pamphlets and one Militant were sold at an NAACP meeting by **Leonard** and **Bill K.** Friday at the Laborers Union meeting **Ada** sold nine papers, **Dolores**, four, and **Leonard**, two. On the campus Leonard and Dolores sold 11 anti-McCarthy pamphlets. Other sales were four Militants and one anti-McCarthy pamphlet by Bill K. and five Militants and one pamphlet by Lil. Special mention goes to Ada who has been selling at a church week after week with very good results."

Literature Agent **John Tabor** reports, "The **New York** comrades hit the streets of Harlem and Brooklyn with the issue of the Militant on the Jim Crow school fight and got a good response. 61 Militants were sold in Harlem Saturday by **Janet, Meryl, Manny, Tom** and **John T.** In Brooklyn 26 were sold by **Bob D., Calvin** and **John A.** At a street meeting that evening **Manny, Ann, Meryl, Ethel P., Janet, John A., Pete, Tom,** and **Jack D.** sold 38 Militants and five anti-McCarthy pamphlets. A grand total of 120 in one day.

"On Friday we had another sale of the anti-McCarthy pamphlet at a Teacher's Union anti-McCarthy rally. **Priscilla, Don, Ruth,** and **John T.** sold 72 copies. The pamphlet was given a fine welcome by those attending the meeting with a donation of a dollar and words of support on our fight against McCarthy."

James Kutcher Tour Schedule

Chicago-Milwaukee	June 22-July 6
Seattle	July 14-26
Los Angeles	Aug. 1-20
San Francisco	Aug. 22-Sept. 18

* * *

Other dates will be published soon.

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THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 25 Monday, June 21, 1954

A Student of Mein Kampf

During his first day on the witness stand, McCarthy quoted from Hitler's Mein Kampf at least three times. This does not come as a surprise to us. Long before McCarthy revealed publicly his study of Hitler's book, it was clear from his words and deeds that he was a close student of the man who thought up Germany's gas chambers.

Even some of McCarthy's favorite expressions and cliches are lifted right out of Mein Kampf. McCarthy's "20 years of treason" is the American fascist adaptation of Hitler's "14 years of shame and treason." One of McCarthy's pet propaganda tricks is to recite the military and diplomatic defeats of America, turn to the Democrats or Republicans and ask: "Was this due to criminal incompetence or treason?" Hitler repeats again and again in Mein Kampf, in relation to Germany's defeat in World War I, "Was this idiocy or treason?"

But it isn't solely the similarity in expressions that demonstrates the parallel between Hitler and McCarthy. The Wisconsin Senator reminds us of Hitler because he is organizing in America what Hitler organized in Germany — a fascist movement.

McCarthy like Hitler starts with an appeal to the disoriented middle class. He has like Hitler concentrated on the "Communist menace" until the hysteria over the bogey has reached epidemic proportions. Like Hitler he extends "the menace" to include "aggression" from abroad and "infiltration" from within, including the highest places in government.

Hitler used this to motivate his fascist drive for power. McCarthy hopes to emulate Hitler's success by the same methods.

Hitler presented a fascist panacea at a time of great social crisis. The crisis of world capitalism today is even more acute than it was in Hitler's time. And this world crisis is developing into a domestic economic and political crisis of American capitalism.

But what is most disturbing is not so much the parallel between Hitler and McCarthy as the parallel between the opponents of Hitler and the opponents of McCarthy. The labor officials, liberals, conservatives and generals in Germany "fought" Hitler in exactly the same way their American counterparts are opposing McCarthy.

The German capitalist opponents of Hitler thought they could handle the country's superwitch-hunter by playing ball with him. Their maneuvers only succeeded in helping to pave the way for Hitler's bloody settlement with his main target — the working class.

The American workers must learn the lessons that were gained at such fearful cost by the German and European workers. We must not let the officials of the labor movement take us down the tragic road to the concentration camps.

What Would They Do Today?

"Finds No Way to Get Off of This 'Blacklist.'" That is the title of an editorial in the June 12 issue of Labor, official newspaper of the railroad unions, against the greatest blacklist the world has yet seen, the blacklist being daily compiled by agencies of the U.S. Government.

Labor cites the case of a young doctor, reported by Congressman Yates (Dem. Ill.), who joined an organization in 1948 that was cited three years later by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as "subversive."

The doctor was not an officer of the organization. He had nothing to do with its policy. He attended none of its business meetings. The first he knew that it had been blacklisted as "subversive" was when his application was rejected by the Army.

Naturally the doctor wanted to get off that blacklist.

First he tried to get a hearing from the Army. They refused.

Then the doctor went to his Congressman for help. Yates brought his weight to bear. But the FBI told him they "cannot clear people."

Next Yates tried the House Un-American Activities Committee. They told him they "cannot clear people."

The best Yates could do was get an agreement from the two agencies "to accept and place on file a statement by the doctor."

Thus, although the doctor has done everything possible to get his name cleared, he remains blacklisted "and still has a ruinous cloud hanging over his future."

Labor expresses its alarm over the situation. "Not so many years ago, railroads maintained a 'blacklist.' When a worker was put on that list, there was no way he could get off. As a result, he and his family suffered serious hardships."

On the basis of the experience of the railroad workers, Labor speaks authoritatively about the viciousness of a company blacklist. But today "a still bigger and broader blacklist" is developing. Yates "found that many government agencies, with almost unlimited power and funds, are busy putting Americans on a blacklist, and none of them are interested in taking anyone off that list if he so deserves."

What should be done about ending this ominous new government institution developed under both Democratic and Republican administrations?

The editors of Labor confine themselves to saying: "What would this country's forefathers, who loved freedom and justice, think of that if they could come back and look around today?"

That appears to us to be a good question, but one that cries out for another question. What would our country's forefathers *do* if they could come back and look around today?

Might we suggest that these lovers of freedom and justice would look at us in astonishment at such a question and say, "The answer is obvious! We didn't just sit around and *think* about the tyranny of government in our day. We did something about it. When you celebrate our Declaration of Independence in a few days, please remind yourselves that we didn't intend our example just to be lauded. We intended it to be followed whenever a people finds itself in a situation like ours. Surely our descendants in the country we founded love freedom and justice as much as we did!"

Let's Get It Straight

The Detroit Methodist Conference annual meeting, attended by 800 ministers and laymen, unanimously adopted an anti-McCarthy report on June 11 that stated:

"McCarthy and his like-minded co-workers, including Congressman Kit Clardy of Michigan, have assumed the position of divinely appointed guardians of men's consciences, patriotism, thoughts. As such they destroy the judicial principles of trial by jury, legal council for the defendant and the right to cross-examine one's accusers."

However, the authors of the report, who correctly liken McCarthy to Hitler, find it necessary to pound the drums about their anti-communism, as do all the liberal, Democratic and Republican anti-McCarthyites. They thus unwittingly accept the main premise of McCarthy's witch-hunting formula today and of Hitler's before him.

In doing this the Methodist leaders fall into a double confusion. First, they indiscriminately couple Lenin, the founder and leader of the workers' movement of genuine revolutionary socialism in Russia, with Stalin, the destroyer of that movement. They fuse these two opposing figures, calling their creation "Lenin-Stalin." Second, they throw the would-be American Hitler into the same pot with this "Lenin-Stalin."

This reveals a failure to understand that the Hitler type heads a capitalist state, a state that cannot be equated with a workers state whether it is a healthy one as under Lenin or a very sick one as under Stalin.

"Tangled fears and hates, and anxiety neuroses in the minds and personalities of many people," according to the report, "have produced the personality and ethics of Joseph R. McCarthy in exactly the same way that German instability in the Nineteen Twenties and Nineteen Thirties produced the program and person of Adolph Hitler and the sufferings of the Russian Revolution produced Lenin-Stalin."

Lenin and Hitler were each produced by opposite forces in an opposite way and represent opposite social systems.

Lenin was the product of a movement organized by the working people themselves which carried through the most progressive and liberating change in history — the Russian revolution that overthrew Czarism and laid the basis for the new rational system of Socialism.

Hitler was the product of a decaying class of monopoly capitalists in Germany who could no longer rule by democratic means. They enlisted the desperate middle-class masses to crush the German workers' movement and thus continue the outlived capitalist order on the basis of degradation, poverty, savage terror and world war.

Failure to understand the difference between revolution and counter-revolution, between the anti-capitalist movement of the workers and the anti-labor movement of Big Business can only result in paralysis in the struggle against McCarthyism.

The failure of the workers of Germany, Italy and Spain to follow the socialist road blazed by the workers of Russia — the road of Leninism — led to their terrible defeat at the hands of fascism. It can happen here too if we fail to understand what McCarthyism really is and what it takes to smash it.

New Money Barons Invade Morgan Empire

By David L. Weiss

A new sector of American capitalism, the rising financial power of the Southwest with its capital in the oil kingdom of Texas, struck a fierce blow June 14 at the heart of the old Vanderbilt-Morgan interests in the East. Robert R. Young, Texas-born financier, toppled the 85-year-old reign of the Vanderbilts and Morgans and took over control of the New York Central Railroad Company.

The official tabulation of the stockholders' vote was read with windows shut and blinds drawn at Albany's Union Station as air-raid sirens wailed during the nation-wide air-raid alarm scheduled the same day.

At the same time the oil tycoons were carrying out another operation of a different sort in the Senate Caucus Room in Washington, an operation flashed by T. V. and radio to the entire country—operation politics.

Their chosen political voice, Senator McCarthy, was utilizing the McCarthy-Army hearings to campaign for his rising fascist movement. **The main source of money behind the Wisconsin demagogue was the same black gold moving in on Wall Street.**

The connection between the Texas oil kings and the new head of the N. Y. Central on the one hand, and the fascist Senator on the other, was not noted by the daily press although for several days it dramatically pictured the power switch in N. Y. Central on its front pages.

FAVOR FASCISM

Yet the tie-up is clearly established. A powerful, new, fascist-minded sector of American capitalism is hell-bent, with all the billions at its disposal, to establish itself in the seats of power. It seeks a decisive voice in councils ruling the country. It is prepared to place the whole working class — all of the poor and oppressed — in the steel vise of an out and out fascist dictatorship.

The rise of this new money aristocracy places McCarthy's movement in a new light. McCarthyism represents far more than the coalescing of the well-known fascist groups we have had for decades in America.

The capture of control of N. Y. Central by the Robert R. Young group is one of the greatest financial power-grabs in corporate history. This railroad empire is a 2.6 billion dollar concern manned by 100,000 employes who handle a tenth of the entire freight of the country — more than all the railroads of England and France combined.

The real estate holdings of this sprawling railroad giant include the 45-acre Grand Central Terminal, the Barclay, Park Lane and Biltmore hotels and major investments in the Roosevelt and Waldorf-Astoria hotels and fabulously profitable office buildings — all in the heart of mid-town Manhattan, the highest cost real estate area in the world.

And that is not all. N. Y. Central has a fleet of 300 New York harbor craft. It plies the Hudson River with eight New York Central ferry boats. Last year this vast enterprise chalked up an operating revenue of $825.3 million — second only to the Pennsylvania Railroad which topped the $1 billion mark.

BIG STAKES

You can see that the stock-control war between the Robert R. Young forces of the newly enriched Southwestern capitalists and the Eastern Vanderbilt-Morgan interests was for no small stakes. The Young victory is the climax of a complex and ruthless struggle that began seven years ago at the end of World War II when Young first began maneuvering to gain control.

The oily strings leading from this power struggle tie in with McCarthy in Washington. Principal holders of the strings are Clint W. Murchison and Sid W. Richardson. They bought up 800,000 shares of N. Y. Central stock to assure Young a landslide majority of voting stock in his show-down fight with the Morgan gang.

Richardson and Murchison are two of the richest of the richest men in the world. They were catapulted to fantastic heights of wealth since the Thirties. Their capital accumulated at a rate never before witnessed in history.

According to Theodore H. White in his study, "Texas: Land of Wealth and Fear," in the May 25 and June 8 issues of The Reporter magazine, Richardson himself is "far and away the richest American with the possible exception of his neighbor H. L. Hunt, who may be his rival in the billion dollar bracket."

Both Richardson and Murchison have expanded their operations into a far flung network beyond the borders of Texas and the oil industry. They were able, for example, to obtain a loan of $7½ million from the Alleghany Corporation, turn around and purchase with this sum 800,000 shares of N. Y. Central Railroad stock held by the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway and then as "stock owners" vote the block of 800,000 shares in favor of Robert R. Young for chairman of N. Y. Central.

ATTRACT SATELLITES

So powerful has this newly risen group of capitalists become that they did not even need the 800,000 votes when the count was in. Young had a plurality of 475,000 of the 2,750,000 held by Wall Street brokers. This means that a sector of Wall Street has gravitated to the Young group. The rising sun of the oil empire is pulling satellites away from the old centers of the dollar system.

The trail from Texas to McCarthy in Washington is indicated by the following: According to Theodore H. White, Clint W. Murchison has publicly admitted backing the Wisconsin demagogue with tens of thousands of dollars. How much is undeclared is, of course, unknown.

He has placed his personal plane at McCarthy's disposal on several occasions to fly around Texas. At McCarthy's request, Murchison put up $10,000 for the 1950 campaign that defeated Senator Tydings of Maryland through use of faked photos of Tydings in association with Earl Browder.

Murchison again put up money to defeat Senator William Benton in Connecticut because of his opposition to McCarthy. He financed McCarthy's broadcast from Chicago attacking Presidential candidate Stevenson.

This is only a small part of the record which involves many more Texas millionaires and billionaires as well as the political machines of Texas described by White as "an unrecognized third party in American politics." It is the incipient party of fascism.

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress reports that "over 550,000 workers have been on the unemployed rolls, which is more than 10% of the total labor force." This information was contained in the 69th annual convention call of the Congress.

...Block Anti-McCarthy Move

(Continued from page 1)

Republicans so hastily bury the Flanders' motion? And why did the Democrats join in the move? Undoubtedly there are tenth-rate factional motives involved. The Republican majority leaders were peeved that Flanders didn't go through "channels" with his motion. The Democrats had their own faction axe to grind — Flanders had taken the ball out of their hands.

But rising above these paltry considerations is the fact that reason after reason is always found by the capitalist politicians for not taking any action against McCarthy. They always find a reason for burying the hatchet. And invariably the hatchet turns up in the back of some new victim of the witch hunt.

If any more proof was needed, isn't this latest move on the Flanders' motion the most conclusive evidence that absolutely nothing except capitulation can be expected from the capitalist party leaders in the fight against McCarthy?

FORUM FOR FASCISM

The balance sheet of the hearings on the Army-McCarthy dispute shows that they were converted into a forum and drill ground for the American fascist movement. The administration, the Army, the Democrats, dealt with the picayune issue of "favors for Schine." They pinned their case against McCarthy on the single issue of Schine. Even if they had proved their case, it was excluded in advance that McCarthy's own committee, operating on McCarthy's "ground rules," would do anything but whitewash him.

On the other hand McCarthy spoke to millions of people throughout the country every day. He pounded away methodically on his fascist themes — the "Communist menace," the "razor poised over the jugular vein of the nation," the "infiltration of the Communists in government," "20 years of treason," "21 years of treason," "five incidents of treason in the Korean war," and so on.

He used the hearings to hammer home his appeal for converts in the military and in all government agencies. He swore over and over again to protect anyone who would spy for him — "no power on earth" would move him to betray his net of fascist agents. **He put on the impressive show of a fascist leader defending everyone who gives him allegiance.**

McCarthy's fascist propaganda was completely and shamefully unanswered at the hearings. As a matter of fact, his opponents played into his hands on the political issues for fear of challenging the Big Lie about a "Communist menace."

ILLUSIONS OF LIBERALS

It would be a mistake of the most serious kind to imagine that McCarthy lost ground at the hearings in any fundamental sense. The liberals indulge in soft-headed talk about "McCarthy's self-ruination" at the hearings. They imagine that because the fascist Senator appears to them as a crude, brutal, lying demogogue that the issue has been settled. What a horrible error! What blindness!

Of course there are millions of people who were revolted by the performance of McCarthy. There were millions who felt fear and alarm. But the plain truth — a truth that must be faced — is that there are other millions who watched the hearings as candidates for McCarthy's fascist legions. Many among these were attracted and even filled with emotion for McCarthyism as a result of the hearings.

These potential fascist masses now feel that they have passed through an "ordeal" with their leader. They await his next signal for action. That's the important thing for the anti-McCarthyites to remember.

OFFICIAL LABOR POLICY

And on the other side? On the anti-McCarthy side? The masses who hate McCarthy and want something done to stop him have no leadership. They have no focal point around which to mobilize an active struggle. They are reduced to expressing sympathy for the injured sensibilities of the Army's attorney, Welch. The central reason for this absence of leadership is the blind policy of the labor officials.

Every power in the United States was represented in the Senate Caucus room except the labor movement.

Imagine what even one Senator representing labor could have done. One single Senator who didn't owe allegiance to anybody except the working class. That Senator could have cut the fascist would-be dictator McCarthy to ribbons every day. He could have countered McCarthy's fascist propaganda with a fighting program to end the conditions which are producing a crazed mob of McCarthyite followers.

What a disgrace! What a danger! American labor didn't even have a single representative on the stage of the most important political drama of this crucial election year. Isn't that a terrible commentary on the bankruptcy and worthlessness of the policy of the labor bureaucracy?

CANNOT WAIT

The working class cannot wait until the eleventh hour to work out its basic strategy against the threat of American fascism. Many of the labor officials agree with us that McCarthy represents a fascist menace. Every day more liberals arrive at the same conclusion. In view of their agreement as to the diagnosis of the danger it is criminally irresponsible for the labor officials to continue a policy which has permitted the fascist danger to grow to its present ugly proportions.

The dangerous fallacy of labor's present official policy is the subordination of labor's power to the capitalist parties. As long as this subordination continues there can be no serious counter-moves against the fascist danger. This is the lesson of all past experience in the fight against fascism not only in Italy, Germany and Spain, but right here in the United States.

But if the events of recent months do not sufficiently convince the labor bureaucracy that the fascist danger requires a policy of socialist struggle, isn't it their elementary duty to at least call a united conference of labor to determine what policy should be followed? Isn't it high time that the arena for a democratic discussion of labor's policy be provided by such a conference? The struggle against fascism is a life or death issue for the working class. The workers have a right to be consulted in the policy-making decisions on this crucial question.

The United States Government was sharply attacked for perpetuating racial discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone by Eligio Craspo Villalaz, president of the national assembly of Panama, in an address to the International Labor Conference meeting in Geneva.

Riot in Diet

Lawmakers in the lower house of the Japanese Diet in Tokyo are shown at the height of a free-for-all over a move to extend the session illegally in an attempt to push through a bill increasing the national police force as the base for a new military machine. Socialist members opposed the bill, including the woman legislator with ripped clothing (arrow). 56 were hurt, one seriously, in the 20-minute pitched battle.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

CONFLICTING REPORTS FROM GUATEMALA left unclear last week whether an Army coup d'etat powered by Wall Street was in the making. On June 14 rumors circulated in Washington that the military had presented President Arbenz with an ultimatum to break with "the Communists" or resign. On the following day Dulles said that the only thing that stood in the way of an "anti-Communist housecleaning" was what he termed "Communist type of terrorism." A dispatch from Mexico City June 15, however, said that no ultimatum had been served. Eighty army heads had invited the President to meet with them and at their meeting they submitted a list of questions aimed at getting a clarification of government policies.

While the State Department continued its behind-the-scenes maneuvers against the courageous Central American republic, the Guatemalan employes of the United Fruit Co. won an impressive victory over the Wall Street enterprise that has so long dominated their country.

A strike begun May 20 was settled June 12. The new agreement grants 60% of the workers an immediate daily increase of 28 cents. Employes earning between $1.64 and $4 a day will get 15% wage boosts; those in higher brackets 7%. The agreement is retroactive so that the strikers get paid for the time they were out. Other benefits include improved housing, insurance and social security.

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SERIOUS INTERFERENCE with the State Department's policy in Guatemala is building up in Mexico. General Lazaro Cardenas, former president of Mexico, has released a statement expressing support and sympathy for the Guatemalan government. The message was given wide publicity in full page ads in the major newspapers of Mexico. Cardenas is described by the N. Y. Times as Mexico's "most powerful individual politician."

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THE FALL OF LANIEL'S CABINET on June 13 is the latest manifestation of the chronic crisis of the capitalist class in France. Laniel, the Big Business premier, who headed the government during last summer's general strike, fell as a direct result of the defeat of French imperialism in Indo-China. Attempts to form a new cabinet around the liberal M. Mendes-France are not expected to succeed. The leaders of the powerful Socialist and Communist workers parties, have not indicated any intention of forming a workers government based on the unions and workers parties.

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THE DECLINE OF FRANCE is the theme of a series of articles in the N. Y. Times. Harold Callender, in the latest one (June 16) tries to show that "what is happening these days is not so much the decline of French power and prestige as the belated recognition of this decline. France has assumed in recent years with the encouragement of the United States, and sometimes of Britain, tasks that exceeded her capacity."

To paraphrase Callender: "What is happening these days," is a belated plagiarization of Trotsky's analysis of France's decline after the first World War. Callender however, fails to understand the most important conclusion of Trotsky's analysis — there is no way out for France or Europe on the capitalist road.

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THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE JUNE 17 UPRISING of the East German workers was observed by the Stalinist regime by handing down savage sentences to four persons charged with playing a leading role in the insurrection. Prison terms ranging from five to fifteen years were decreed against Dr. Wolfgang Silgradt, Werner Mangelsdorf, Hans Fieldner and Horst Gassa.

Werner Mangelsdorf was charged with leading a workers detachment that broke open the doors of a Stalinist political prison near Magdeburg.

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POLITICAL ASYLUM IN ENGLAND was sought by two young American doctors, Joseph H. Cort and Ruth Cort. They are seeking to extend their stay in England because of the political persecution they would face in the United States. Dr. Joseph Cort said he had been a member of the Communist Party in his student days but did not belong now. Nevertheless he expected political persecution if he returned to the U.S.

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A GENERAL STRIKE IN MEXICO has been called for July 12 by the Confederation of Mexican Workers to enforce a demand for a 24% increase in wages to offset the slash in purchasing power due to the governments' devaluation of the peso last April. The government responded by demanding negotiations to which alarmed industry leaders quickly agreed.

In an illuminating article about the devaluation of the peso, the socialist magazine Que Hacer, which is published in Mexico City, explains that devaluation has become the habitual response of the profit-hungry Mexican capitalist class to its difficulties. Caught between the powerful pressure of Wall Street on the one hand and the ever-present revolutionary potential of the Mexican workers, the capitalists seek to postpone a reckoning of accounts by this miserable stop-gap device.

Que Hacer fits the Mexican capitalist class into the general world picture of capitalism, contrasting the native bourgeoisie with their cousins in Germany, the U.S. and elsewhere. It also explains concisely how devaluation operates against the workers. One of the functions of money is to measure value. Devaluation shortens the measure. And so the peso, arbitrarily made smaller by government decree, is no longer able to span living costs.

British and "native" troops murdered fourteen and captured ten alleged Mau Mau terrorists last week. Thirty-six members of the nationalist group escaped.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1954 — NUMBER 25

he Negro Struggle

By Fred Hart

'Surface Compliance'

Sen. Eastland and Rep. John Bell Williams, both of Mississippi, have introduced resolutions in the Senate and House asking Congress to approve a constitutional amendment which, if ratified by the states, would destroy the Supreme Court's jurisdiction in matters of racial segregation.

This is one means by which the white supremacists are working to prevent any substantial change in the Jim Crow pattern in public schools and other fields. But it is not the most important means because there is not much likelihood of Congress adopting such a constitutional amendment this year; politically, it would not be wise or expedient.

Far more dangerous was the meeting of 15 Southern governors or their representatives in Richmond, Va., on June 10. The conference was held behind closed doors. "No one had any thought of doing anything wrong," said Gov. Stanley of Virginia, the authorized spokesman for the participants, who included Byrnes of South Carolina and Talmadge of Georgia.

In their eyes there is nothing "wrong" in trying to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision against public school segregation. They are admirers of the Supreme Court when it rules their way and believers in the Constitution when it is interpreted their way; otherwise, they don't hesitate for a minute to disregard both the Court and the Constitution.

Representatives of three border states — Kentucky, Maryland and West Virginia — announced that they would not challenge the Supreme Court school decision because it was not "as serious a problem" in their states as in others.

But representatives of the other 12 states said that "in varying degrees, depending on the situation in each state, they would act to attain some conformity with the court ruling and yet *keep as much segregation as possible.*" They discussed various proposals "to give *surface compliance* with the court's decision," especially the "administrative and supervisory powers held by the state and local authorities with respect to arranging school attendance on some basis that would omit references to race." (N. Y. Times, June 11.)

Thus the plan to save Jim Crow in the schools is plain for all to see: Most of the Southern states are going to use their "administrative and supervisory powers" to maintain segregation while omitting "references to race." This will be "compliance" on the surface and evasion in fact. And remember — a majority of the Negro population in this country lives in the 12 Southern states that have adopted this plan.

A great deal of praise has been uttered about the Supreme Court during the last month. But the question that must be considered now is this: Will the Supreme Court do anything to prevent "surface compliance" and to compel genuine compliance and enforcement?

The odds are that it won't. Now, as in the past, the outcome of the fight over Jim Crow in the schools depends primarily on the militancy and determination of the Negro people and their allies. The Supreme Court decision helped the struggle, but it didn't settle it.

A Wife's 79-Hour Week

By Joyce Cowley

Working wives have been blamed for just about everything from inadequate breakfasts to world unrest. Because they themselves realize it's almost impossible to handle two jobs, they sometimes feel confused and a little guilty. Or as Dean Helen G. Canoyer of the Cornell College of Home Economics puts it:

"The position of women today is potentially explosive. Often women who work are troubled and anxious about the homes they must also manage. Many women feel they must make an unbearable choice and some are unhappy whichever role they choose."

Just why is the choice "unbearable"? I've noticed that Deans of colleges, in spite of their education, don't seem to come to the point. But a survey made for General Electric by the Ross Federal Research Corp. gives you a better idea of why it's difficult for a wife to decide whether or not she should work.

The work-week of the average job-holding wife totals 79 hours, 40 hours in the plant or office and 39 at home. According to this report she can't expect a great deal of help from her husband or other members of the family. Working wives do spend less time shopping and cooking than full-time housewives, but this is mainly because they become more systematic. The working wife is not merely troubled and anxious. About two-thirds of the women covered by this survey said they were "exhausted" or "quite tired."

The conflict which most women face is not one between a feminine desire to be a full-time homemaker and a so-called masculine urge to get out in the world and struggle for a career. It's more likely to be a desperate choice between mounting bills and a 79-hour week.

Another expert at a Tri-State Conference on Family Relations tells us that women have a tough time because the individual, not society, is expected to adjust. Much personal instability could be avoided, he says, if society did its share of adjusting. Few changes have been made in business or industrial set-ups to help women meet their dual responsibilities.

In other words we need community services, housekeeping and child-care facilities so that women won't have to "adjust" to working eleven or twelve hours a day, seven days a week.

Some noted psychologists claim that women are not very happy about their emancipation and when you realize that this "emancipation" doubles the work load of more than ten million wives you can understand why they're a bit skeptical about the improvement in their status.

The fact is that women are not emancipated. They make less than half the wages that a man makes. They take it for granted that they will continue to shop, cook, do the laundry and scrub floors, no matter how hard they work on the job. That's no dual responsibility, it's dual exploitation.

As the Dean says, it's an explosive situation, and I'm sorry for anyone who gets in the way when women decide it's time for society to do the adjusting.

Notes from the News

MAKE LIKE A TOP. If you are within four miles of the point of an atomic blast there isn't much hope of avoiding serious eye injury, according to a digest of a Society for the Prevention of Blindness report which appears in the June 8 Labor's Daily. Based on Hiroshima and laboratory studies, the report says "any protective step such as eyelid closing . . . covering by hands or instruments takes time." The peak of radiation is reached in less than one ten thousandth of a second — "long before any protective step helps." The major damage done by the bomb, they report, is burns from the heat which almost reaches that of the sun. They advise spinning like a top to dilute the incoming radiation.

* * *

MINORITIES NEED TO RESTATE THEIR GOALS, says an editorial in the June 4 Los Angeles Tribune, a Negro weekly. The editorial very aptly observes, "But the best evidence of the fact that it is a system, and not a race, which is at the root of oppression, is the fact that the face of the downtrodden changes color and characteristic with the real oppressor, which is Money's, need . . . he (the oppressed) is held down so that he may remain cheap labor. . . For nothing makes dollars multiply so rapidly — not efficiency, nor good markets, nor inspired advertising, like cheap labor."

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McCARTHY'S TERMINOLOGY DEFINED. A Republican Congressman, who for obvious reasons prefers to remain anonymous, has offered the following definitions of some of the terms used by McCarthy at the current hearings: "Mr. Chairman" — (Turn those cameras this way, boys.) "I shall be happy to enlighten the gentleman" — (Hold still for this one, you rat.) "Would you please repeat the question" — (How will I ever get out of this one?) "Hearing Room" — (Archaic expression meaning room in which you can hear. Also archaic, room in which one receives a hearing.) "An unnamed person" — (I'll slip the press a note in just a minute.) "May I have your attention" — (Ah, that's better. Two cameras.)

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McCARTHY TO "INVESTIGATE" POW's. The fascist Senator from Wisconsin announced June 12 that immediately after the conclusion of the current hearings he intends to delve into the matter of war prisoners whom he says are still being held by "Communists." He added that his hunt would cover not only the Korean war but go as far back as 1918.

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PHILADELPHIA STRIKERS REJECT PLUGGED NICKEL. The June 7 CIO News reports that 8,000 CIO Electrical workers entering their second month of strike against the Philco Radio Co. voted unanimously to reject a company "offer" of a five-cent raise. In response to a company proposal that a secret ballot be held on the "offer," the union replied that it would do so provided the company would abide by whatever the workers said was fair if they voted down the nickel.

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LAWYERS ACT: The Detroit Bar Association is setting up a special "Civil Rights Panel" to provide advice and defense for citizens whose civil and constitutional rights may be in jeopardy.

One reason for this step is that "It has been difficult in some instances for persons accused or suspected of communist or subversive activities readily to obtain legal counsel on short notice."

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"JOE MUST GO" SIGNATURES are being protected from "McCarthy vengeance" by Editor Leroy Gore of Sauk City, Wisconsin. Gore was the initiator of a recall petition drive against the fascist Senator McCarthy. The drive netted 335,000 signatures, some 60,000 short of the required amount. McCarthyite supporters in the local government issued a subpoena to surrender the petitions to Justice Court in Baraboo, Wis. Gore said he would "rather go to jail" than make the petitions available for McCarthyite retaliation.

* * *

NOW — AND THEN: Mrs. Margaret Price, Democratic national committeewoman from Michigan, told the recent Mich. state CIO convention: "The Democratic Party rejects the view that unemployment of 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 is 'normal' in the United States." But it was ex-President Harry S. Truman who said, as quoted in the Feb. 15, 1950, N. Y. Times: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Phila. Union To Picket Over Layoffs

PHILADELPHIA, June 10 — The need for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to combat lay-offs was highlighted this week at the Lester plant of Westinghouse Electrical Corporation in South Philadelphia.

Yesterday the executive board of Local 107 United Electrical Workers (Ind.) voted to picket the plant on weekends to prevent overtime work. The company has threatened new lay-offs in the near future. The union's object is to "share-the-work" — eliminate overtime rather than permit further dismissals.

The union states that Philadelphia is an extremely critical area for employment, that unemployment stands at 18%. Thus the prospect is poor for any laid-off worker to get another job.

There is nothing wrong with Local 107's action as a stop-gap measure. It protects the low seniority workers and forces all union members to concern themselves with the struggle for a better contract, rather than allowing one section of workers to keep their wages unimpaired while another section is out on the street looking for jobs.

But a "share-the-work" measure as a regular proposition can only become a "share-the-misery" device. It is not the kind of a program around which workers can or should be rallied to wage a fight.

The employer loses little if anything from such a measure. Its only advantage to the union is to keep all members together for bargaining purposes. And other locals have achieved this result through the creation of union unemployed councils that fight for adequate relief payments for their unemployed members, thus helping to keep them tied to the union.

The only adequate "share-the-work" program is one that demands a reductoin of the work week **with no reduction in take-home pay.** Such is the demand for 30-40, 30 hours work at 40 hours pay.

The validity of 30-40 is further highlighted by a protest made by Local 107 against another Westinghouse policy. The local objects to the company laying off employes in departments "whose regular work is still being subcontracted."

Here the union itself pits workers in Westinghouse against workers employed by the subcontractors. The jobs of the first group would be retained at the expense of unemployment for the second.

This is just a dog-eat-dog proposition which disrupts the solidarity of the union movement.

A special dispatch to the N. Y. Times, June 15, reports: Juan Comorera, former secretary of the Catalan Communist Party was arrested by Franco's police in Barcelona. Comorera is reported to have broken with the Kremlin and returned secretly to Spain to escape Stalinist assassination.

Tried for Congress Shootings

Four Puerto Rican prisoners confer with their lawyer (left) as they go on trial in federal court, Washington, accused of shooting five congressmen from the gallery of the House on March 1. The shootings were a demonstration for Puerto Rican independence. The defendants (seated) are Mrs. Lolita Lebron and Irving Flores Rodriguez and (standing) Andres Figueroa Cordero and Rafael C. Miranda. The four pleaded not guilty.

Murder Case Exposes Frameup by N.Y. Cops

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, June 15 — Brutal back-room police torture, crudely fabricated frameup and extorted false confession — that's the pretty picture of the New York Police Department and the Queens Borough District Attorney's office that has come to sudden light this past week.

John F. Roche, a sick psycopathic killer now in custody for the murder of four, has acknowledged the murder of two others for which two other men were tried and convicted solely on the basis of extorted confessions. Roche confessed the slaying of a man named Bates, giving a detailed account which fits into the pattern of the crime perfectly.

But the New York City Police Department and Queens District Attorney had seized another young man who had previously been in trouble with the law, Paul A. Pfeffer, and, as he testified later, had beaten a confession out of him.

Furthermore, certain important evidence that would have put a question mark over his confession was suppressed by the police and the District Attorney.

Pfeffer was sentenced from 20 years to life at Sing Sing. He narrowly escaped a death sentence since there was some doubt in the jury's mind.

WHY HE "CONFESSED"

He charged at the time of his trial that the police had beaten a confession out of him. Because he had a previous police record of forgery and other petty crimes, he was a natural victim of the cops seeking a scapegoat. He had told his attorney that the detective who arrested him had told him on another occasion that he would "get" Pfeffer some day and that he would hang. The police worked him over in a back room and he finally gave them what they wanted.

The Militant has again and again called attention to the police brutality in New York City. This most recent development verifies what has long been known, yet denied about how these cops operate.

Three young Puerto Ricans now await execution at Sing Sing for a crime they deny committing. They tell the same story about police brutality. They were convicted in an atmosphere of hatred and prejudice and upon the basis of statements secured from them by third-degree methods.

Paul A. Pfeffer is white. Usually the victim is colored or a member of some other minority group. Upon these minority peoples, the police vent their hatred and prejudice.

It is not unlikely that the cops who did the job on Pfeffer were among the 6,000 police who attended a recent communion breakfast for McCarthy and cheered the fascist Senator as their hero.

Newark Elects First Negro to City Council

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, June 16 — The Negro community of Newark scored an encouraging victory yesterday when it elected Irvine I. Turner to the City Council from the Central Ward. Turner is the first Negro ever to be elected to the Newark city government.

He ran as an independent in the non-partisan elections and campaigned vigorously on the issue of the right of Negro representation.

In addition, the Newark voters elected James T. Callaghan, councilmanic candidate at large sponsored by the CIO. Harry Hazelwood Jr., another independent Negro candidate running at-large, while defeated, received the highest city-wide vote that a Negro candidate ever polled.

Turner obtained 7,637 votes against 5,736 cast for his white opponent, John Salvato, or 57% of the total. The Negro community comprises 51% of the population in the ward. These figures indicate that the colored candidate was able to unite the Negro vote behind him and get it out solidly to the polls. He was able to win considerable white backing besides.

The election in Central Ward was hotly contested. Salvato, a Democratic wardheeler who had the backing of the Democratic party, sought to inflame anti-Negro sentiment. His racist appeals were presented under the slogan "Prevent Racial Discrimination," but he made it clear that what he meant was "Prevent 'discrimination' against whites by voting white."

His cards with this slogan were circulated primarily in the white districts. One of them featured the slogan on one side and separate photographs of Salvato and Turner on the other with the subcaption "Vote for One — But Vote!" The only purpose that Salvato had for printing his opponent's picture was to contrast the white to the Negro candidate in an appeal to prejudice.

In another folder, Salvato red-baited Turner. This type of attack stems from Turner's readiness to accept support from the Negro Labor Council, whose active campaigning played a large part in his election, and from Turner's refusal to issue anti-Communist declarations in general. **But neither Salvato's reactionary appeals nor the sizeable funds at his disposal could shake the unity and and militancy of the Negro community. These were the key to Turner's success.**

Callaghan's election, unlike Turner's was not a clear-cut victory for principle. Callaghan hid the fact throughout the campaign that he was an independent candidate of the CIO. He didn't stand out in the race or inspire great enthusiasm. For this reason he again polled a low vote in the Central Ward, where, because of its Negro majority he should have received his greatest backing. The fault for Callaghan's unprincipled race was partly his and partly that of the CIO leader-ship. The contradiction between the CIO's original intention to elect a labor councilman and the shabby way in which it followed through was glaringly revealed by a letter sent out by the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council to all its Newark members on June 9.

This letter makes a correct analogy between the political arena and the factory. It says, "Remember, you wouldn't vote for a boss to become your shop steward. Then why vote to make a boss your city councilman?"

All this is true. But then why didn't the CIO sponsor a full slate of "stewards" for the Council instead of running Callaghan alone? Why did the CIO slate include political representatives of the bosses in the form of Democratic and Republican politicians? Why did the CIO virtually confine its campaign activities on behalf of Callaghan to this letter instead of mobilizing all its forces behind him?

As it turned out, Callaghan, although running independently, owes his election in good part to the support he accepted from Mayor Carlin and the Democrats. This recourse to aid from management's political representatives" — denounced in the CIO's letter — ties Callaghan to the Democratic party and weakens his role of "shop steward" which the CIO intended he should play on the Council.

Hazelwood ran last of the eight at-large candidates, but registered a gain of 5,000 votes over his total in the May 11 primaries. He had united Negro backing but it was the failure of the labor movement to actively campaign for him, despite the CIO's endorsement, that was the biggest factor in Hazelwood's defeat.

Mich. CIO Convention Discusses Political Action and Unemployment

Everybody at the Michigan CIO convention which ended on June 11, in Grand Rapids, agreed that political action is an indispensable and decisive part of the fight against unemployment. But there were two completely opposite views as to what constitutes effective political action. The top state CIO leaders tried to turn the convention into a Democratic Party campaign rally. Ford Local 600 of the United Automobile Workers submitted a resolution pointing out the need for labor to build its own independent party.

August Scholle, who was re-elected president of the state CIO, stressed political action in his key-note speech. He put the blame for unemployment exclusively on the Republicans and this was the tenor of the official resolutions. He praised Democratic Party candidates and state officials, urging the re-election of Gov. Williams and backing the candidacies of Blair Moody for U.S. Senate and Philip Hart for lieutenant governor.

On the other hand, the Ford Local resolution on political action, which the top leaders succeeded in bottling up in the resolutions committee, pointed to a new and inspiring political program for labor.

Expressing the goal of the CIO as "freedom, peace and prosperity for the people," the Ford 600 resolution declared that "there exists no political or social vehicle for the achievement of these aims. Few will claim this role for the Republican Party. There are more within the labor movement, unfortunately, who maintain such an illusion in relation to the Democratic Party."

Denying the contention that the Democratic Party has an effective program against unemployment, the resolution stated that "only World War II gave the impetus to the productive system which brought us out of the great depression. . . only the outbreak of the Korean war prevented another catastrophic depression."

"The record is plain," says the resolution further, "that **neither the Democratic Party nor the Republican Party can offer an alternative to depression other than war, or an alternative to war other than depression. If further evidence were necessary, the current clamor of the Democrats for a 'bi-partisan' war policy in Indo-China reveals with sickening clarity that the differences between the two parties on the decisive questions of peace and prosperity for the people, are more apparent than real.**"

The resolution scored those who have kept repeating through the years that "now is not the time" for labor to break from the two old-line capitalist parties.

"A great many people turned in disgust from the Truman administration to vote for Eisenhower. Where will they turn now? Who will dare say that the election of a Democratic administration will halt the trend to war, will end the witch hunt? **If the labor movement remains silent, or buries its voice within the Democratic Party, a grave danger exists that McCarthy or some other fascist demagogue will reap the harvest of resentment, insecurity, and fear.**"

Organized labor speaking in its own name is the only voice that can reach the people of the world. "Our voice must be heard not only in America, but throughout the world. Only we can speak to the colonial masses in revolt. Only our voice can penetrate Russia, China and the eastern European countries. Only a labor movement that speaks and fights for peace without depression, for bread without oppression, will be heard and respected throughout the world. Only such a labor movement can intervene for peace and freedom everywhere."

The resolution therefore concluded that the Michigan CIO convention "call upon the National CIO in cooperation with all labor organizations, **to convene a national congress of labor whose function shall be to work out a program and the organizational details for the launching of a Farm-Labor Party.**"

Democratic Party speakers at the convention confirmed the resolution's charge that the Democrats had no solution to unemployment but bigger war expenditures. Thus, Blair Moody, a guest speaker, made a real atom-rattling speech criticizing the Republicans for cutting the war budget, slight as that cut has been. He said: "Increased expenditures for defense is essential to both our foreign policy and a healthy economy."

Despite the ability of the Scholle leadership to keep from the floor the local 600 political action and other resolutions with effective proposals on fighting unemployment, the program of the 30-hour week for 40 hours' pay was presented directly to the delegates.

C. Patrick Quinn, vice president of the big Dodge Local 3, one of the hardest hit by unemployment, spoke of the predicament of the 20,000 laid-off Dodge workers. "We have come to the end of the rope," he said. "Every month we are losing 2,500 seniority employes who will never get back to work."

Then he read a telegram to the convention from a mass meeting of unemployed Dodge Local 3 workers. This called for the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. Copies of the Ford Local 600 resolution on the same program had been circulated among the delegates. Quinn announced after the adjournment that Dodge Local 3 is calling on the UAW international officers to call a special UAW national convention on unemployment.

143 N.Y. DOCK WORKERS VICTIMIZED FOR STRIKING

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, June 16 — 143 rank-and-file longshoremen are fighting for the right to make their livelihood on the docks of this city. They are on trial before the state waterfront commission for the "crime" of militantly defending the ILA and being active in a recent rank-and-file waterfront strike.

The current trial is the latest blow by the state authorities against the independent ILA. They have used every angle and every weapon to drive the ILA from the waterfront. Despite this, the ILA won the victory in a recent NLRB representation election by a 319 vote margin. The ILA has not yet been certified and it is believed the government is studying new moves to prevent certification. Should the 143 dockers on trial be convicted their votes for the ILA will be thrown out.

Ninety-one of the dockers are charged with picketing during the four-week strike. The waterfront commission is taking the position that picketing is now illegal since the waterfront is under state control. The remaining 52 men are accused of specific actions during the strike.

Some of the charges against the men were: refusing to respond to the work whistle on the day the port was shut down; organizing and planning the strike; talking with men and advising them to quit work; becoming members of the rank-and-file strike committee and setting up human blockades at the piers.

Attorneys for the ILA charged in the opening day of the trial that "these men are here only because they belong to the ILA, and for no other reason." No member of the AFL is up on charges before the commission and the ILA attorney pointed out that had the AFL won the election the Commission would not have intervened.

The union attorney asked that the hearings and trial be televised so that the public could see how the dockers were treated at the hands of the commission. This proposal was greeted with stormy applause by the dockers present but the Commission hearing officer, Judge Jacob Grumat, angrily refused.

The ominous anti-labor purpose of the State Waterfront Commission is being revealed at these hearings. The Commission, Governor Dewey's brain child, was supported by the AFL and thus was able to fasten itself upon the waterfront. A long and serious fight lies ahead before the shackles of this agency are removed from the waterfront. For, as long as it exists it will serve as a powerful weapon to beat down any waterfront union organization.